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wishes to emphasize, however, that the development of heavy industry is not an end in itself. The purpose of socialist production is to satisfy the needs of the worker. The development of heavy industry will strengthen the economy. This in turn will raise the standard of living, increase the production of consumer goods, and permit the mechanization of agriculture. In order to maintain a proper balance between the various branches of the national economy, the PMR is struggling to assign investments where they are most needed and where they can best satisfy the vital needs of the workers. This includes consumer goods, light industry, and food production as well as heavy industry.

Party organizations contribute to the fulfillment of the workers' needs by fighting to increase the quality and variety of products, to reduce prices, to increase the use of internal resources, and to increase central stockpiles.

In agriculture, party policy calls for greater production to fulfill the needs of workers and of industry. The PMR has prepared a vast plan to expand agriculture and to bring it up to the level of industry in order to fulfill the demands of a growing urban population. It is trying to liquidate the causes of the present food shortage. This plan provides for the consolidation of present collectives, for the intensification of agitation to persuade the peasantry to form TOZ (agricultural cooperatives) and collectives, and for aid to small and medium independent peasants to enable them to reach their full production potential. This plan will lead to an annual output of 10 million tons of grain, a quantity sufficient to solve the Rumanian grain problem permanently.

The chief tasks of party organizations in agriculture are to urge the formation of new TOZ and collectives, to strengthen existing collectives, to liquidate errors in state farm operations, and to support small producers who produce the major part of Rumania's grain today.

The PMR devotes special attention to the exchange of goods between the city and the village, to workers' supplies, and to an increase in food, industrial and consumer goods, and purchasing power for the masses. Compared to 1948, the amount of goods distributed to the masses from central stockpiles was three times as great in 1950, four times as great in 1951, and six times as great in 1952. Nevertheless, deficiencies in the quality, quantity, and variety of these products still exist. Consequently, the party is placing more consumer goods of good quality at the disposal of workers in villages and cities. The party does not attempt to hide from the masses the difficulties which exist in supplying urban workers with agricultural products. These difficulties are due to the drought of 1952, to the poor productivity of agriculture, and to serious mistakes made by procurement and collection organizations, cooperatives, state farms, and people's councils. The steps taken by the PMR and the good harvest of 1953 will overcome these difficulties.

In addition, the party is increasing the wages of workers. Each year, budget allotments are increased for teaching, health, labor safety, social insurance, child and maternal care, and other aspects of social welfare. There are now five times as many hospital beds as there were in 1944, and three times as many clinics. More than 1,000 new dispensaries, 97 anti-epidemic stations, 3,400 health stations in enterprises, and 320 aid stations in villages were set up in 1951 and 1952. A total of 1,135,000 cubic meters of housing was completed by the beginning of 1953. In 1952, 68 percent more money was spent for labor safety in enterprises than in 1950. In 1952, more than 300,000 workers were sent to rest homes. The PMR is vigorously combating the bureaucratic attitude of enterprise directors who show no interest in the increased improvement in labor welfare among the masses.

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In the political field, the party is striving to remove capitalist elements such as exploiters and speculators and to protect the worker against them. The party is fighting to overcome bureaucratism in the state apparatus, to bring about strict respect for law, and to defend the rights guaranteed to citizens by the constitution. It will savagely liquidate any act that can compromise the alliance between peasants and workers. The party is applying the Leninist-Stalinist policy on national minorities. This involves a fight to strengthen the fraternal ties between all nationalities living in Rumania.

The party is encouraging the advance of culture by supporting science, literature, and art.

The external policy of the RPR and of the entire camp of peace, democracy, and socialism which looks to the USSR for leadership is a policy of peace and defense of national independence, a policy entirely subordinate to the interests of the people. The policy of the government and the party states that there are no unsolved problems that cannot be solved by peaceful means through negotiations. The party and the government are fighting to strengthen the ties of the Rumanian people with the USSR and the other people's democracies.

All internal and external policies are set by the party in the interests of the people. While the conduct of policy is the chief duty of the party, local organizations and individual party members must fight to apply party policy, decrees, and instructions. Primary party organizations must fight to strengthen party discipline, and to educate party members in the observance of decrees and in the prompt and energetic combating of all those who carry out these decrees in a formal or liberal manner.

II. SELECTION AND TRAINING OF PROPAGANDISTS

A. Poor Propaganda

A decree issued recently by the Central Committee of the RPR emphasized the importance of the ideological and political training of propagandists. The propagandist is the central figure in party education. The quality of the propagandist and his training in party theory determine the level of propaganda throughout the RPR, since the propagandist forms the chief link between the party and the masses. In 1953, raion and city party committees have selected more propagandists than ever before. Many of these men will be active for the first time. Therefore, their training must be very well planned.

In the past, many courses for the training of propagandists contained poorly prepared lectures which failed to point out the importance of party leadership in the building of socialism. Lectures on Marxism-Leninism were abstract and in no way connected with the struggle of the masses to create a new society. Thus, for example, a lecture on "The Economics of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism," presented at the Evening University of the Timisoara Regiune Party Committee, failed to emphasize the leadership of the party in the industrialization of Rumania or in the socialist transformation of agriculture. It did not mention the vital interest of the masses in the struggle to crush capitalist elements. This lecture failed to fulfill its primary purpose, to aid listeners to acquire a thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and of party policy, in order that they be mobilized to fight for the building of socialism in Rumania.

Some propagandists lecture in abstract terms, neglecting to mention the specific duties and activities of party organizations. Many propagandists confine themselves to theoretical issues and devote only a few sentences to the application of these issues to Rumania. Thus, for example, a lecture on "The Transition

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to the New Economic Policy," presented to propagandists in Grivita Rosie Raion, Bucharest City, contained the simple statement that the Soviet New Economic Policy has been fully applied in the RPR. However, no analysis was made of the details of the application of the policy in the RPR, nor were Rumanian decrees promulgating this policy discussed. There was no reference to the application of the policy in Bucharest Regiune. No mention was made of the errors which occurred in the application of the policy, and no suggestions were given for improved results.

Many propagandists merely present a collection of quotations from Marxist-Leninist classics in their lectures, and fail to deal with Rumanian problems. This represents a mere mechanical repetition of formulas and demonstrates no understanding of the party line. A knowledge of these classics and of PMR documents is mandatory for every propagandist, since it guarantees proper orientation, but lectures must contain practical examples of the application of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The Central Committee of the PMR desires that party organizations vigorously combat this abuse of quotations, which in most cases conceals an inability to picture Marxism-Leninism in action or to apply Marxist-Leninist theories in party work and in the socialist transformation of society. It is also necessary to combat the tendency of many propagandists who simply compile quotations from pamphlets and articles. This leads to abstractness and fails to deal with current party problems, a practice which cuts down the theoretical level of propagandists.

One of the chief duties of propagandists is to combat and unmask hostile theories of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism. Some propagandists are content to combat these theories in a formal manner, that is to say, without explanations and arguments or examples of their false content. It must be made clear to every propagandist that he is an active fighter on the ideological front, and in this quality he is entrusted with the great responsibility of disseminating Marxist-Leninist teachings among the masses.

The lack of sufficient knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory is the basis for errors and falsification in lectures and for most of the oversimplification and vulgarization of the problems of building socialism. This lack of knowledge is very damaging to the political and ideological education of party members. For example, the lecture on "The Bolshevik Party in the Fight for the Socialist Industrialization of the RPR," presented by the 1 Mai Raion Party Committee in Bucharest, shows the superficiality with which propagandists prepare lectures. This lecture dealt with one oversimplified theme. Propagandists were content with the mere mention of a few Marxist-Leninist theses on the industrialization of Rumania, but completely omitted capital problems such as the purpose of industrialization, the purpose of the alliance between workers and peasants, and the superiority of socialism to capitalism and the fundamental differences between the two. Such errors seriously prejudice efforts to raise the theoretical level of cadres.

In order to fulfill the important role which they have in party teaching, propaganda lectures must be well prepared. However, many propagandists tend to cover too many problems in each lecture. Consequently, students learn little. A lecture which includes too much cannot orient the student clearly on central problems.

B. Poor Selection, Training of Propagandists

The PMR is devoting special attention to the education and selection of its propagandists. It is increasing the number and improving the education of these men. Permanent seminars of propagandists, first introduced into the party

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teaching system in 1952, have contributed to perfecting their training. The decree issued recently by the Central Committee of the RMR provides for improved training and increased recruitment of propagandists during the 1953-1954 school year.(1)

The decree called for the submission of a list of party members and party candidates to be trained as propagandists by 30 August 1953. These students must be carefully chosen, and the terrible errors of the past which decreased the value of teaching in party circles and courses must be liquidated. The party press must constantly publish articles on party teaching, criticizing errors in propaganda and emphasizing the need for greater purity and ideological content in party teaching.(2) Many poorly prepared persons, ignorant of theory and unsatisfactory from a political point of view, were sent to party schools. Some party committees and primary party organizations chose propagandists in a bureaucratic manner. Others, as a result of poor political vigilance, chose unsuitable individuals with dubious political backgrounds. Such elements were discovered and removed in Gurahont, Arad Regiune, for example. In Timisoara and Bucharest city, propagandists addressed party circles on subjects which they themselves had never studied. The primary party organization of the Baicoi oil field did not choose a single petroleum engineer as propagandist. In Ploesti city, very few intellectuals were mobilized as propagandists.(3)

The Hunedoara Regiune Party Committee made special provisions to carry out the decree of the Central Committee of the RMR for improving mass political work. The Regiune Party Committee and secretaries of primary party organizations held seminars and classes to give instructions on the selection of agitators and propagandists. However, many primary party organizations chose inactive persons without prestige among the masses. Many party organizations adopted a formal attitude toward political agitation, limiting themselves to statistics or tables listing the number of agitators and their talks, without an analysis of the content and results of their work. The Hunedoara Regiune Party Committee fought this type of formalism by directing raion committees and primary party organizations to devote special attention to the preparation of agitators. As a result, good agitation was carried on in regard to the international situation and to the application of decrees. Primary party organizations were given good support at the Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej Steel Plant, at the Simeria railroad yards, and at mines in Petrila and Lupeni. The regiune committee organized exchanges of experiences between agitators of the Petrosani and Lupeni mines and agitators of the steel plant and of railroad installations in Petrosani and Alba-Iulia. In addition, more than 200 agitators from agricultural enterprises in Deva, Ilia, Hateg, and Hunedoara raions were called to a conference in Deva.

Despite this thorough preparation, however, numerous errors occurred. Many of the agitators limited themselves to local problems. Very few spoke on the achievements of the regime, on internal and foreign policy of the party, or on international events. The regiune and raion committees failed to instruct agitators on how to recognize the needs of workers and how to satisfy their cultural and material needs. Agitators in Sebes Raion oriented their lectures improperly. They failed to enlighten the masses on the causes of their present difficulties or on the character of the past regime, and they failed to mobilize the masses to fight errors. Ion Ardeleanu, first secretary, and Miron Necsa, secretary of the Hateg Raion Party Committee, issued directives without making any check on the content of lectures. The Hunedoara Regiune Party Committee as a whole failed to draw party and state activists into mass political work.(4)

In Iasi Regiune, propagandists were not given adequate support by the regiune committee, but were loaded with numerous other duties. For example, propagandist Ion Manca of Iasi had the following duties in addition to his propaganda work: lecturer at the 3-month party school, member of the administrative committee of the SRS (Societatea pentru Raspandirea Stiintei si Culturii, Society for the Dissemination of Science and Culture), member of the Michurin Society Committee, and union official, in addition to his own trade.(5)

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The propaganda and agitation section of the Central Committee of the FMR recently sponsored a conference in Bucharest to discuss propaganda for the 1953-1954 academic year. The conference was attended by secretaries of primary party organizations in the city. Coganiceanu (fnu), chief of the agitation and propaganda section of the Nicolae Balcescu Raion Party Committee, urged primary party organizations to unify selection of propagandists, and to do less superficial work in choosing candidates.(5)

III. THE ORGANS OF PROPAGANDA

A. FMR Organizations

1. Increased Agitation

Party organizations throughout the RPR have intensified agitation as a result of the government and party decree. One of the chief duties of agitators, as stipulated by the decree, is that of explaining to the masses the party and state foreign policy, which seeks to consolidate peace, to prevent another war, and to strengthen the alliance of the RPR with the USSR and the People's Democracies.

However, not all regiune party committees have successfully applied this decree. The Stalin and Craiova regiune party committees, for example, have been too bureaucratic and formal. They have concerned themselves with statistics alone, failing to contact the masses through subordinate organizations. This lack of interest by party organizations has resulted in too slow a reaction to internal and foreign developments.(6) The Suceava Regiune Party Committee drew up an urgent plan for state and party activists and economic cadre to improve agitation and propaganda. The application of this plan was entrusted to Pintilescu (fnu), assistant to the propaganda and agitation section. However, after 2 months Pintilescu had done nothing to apply the plan, claiming that the plan was too indefinite, and that Vilhelm Cubi, chief of the agitation section, was on vacation. When Cubi returned, he declared that he knew nothing of the plan and that Alfred Bernstein, chief of the regiune propaganda section, then on vacation, was the person responsible for its application.

Agitation work on the raion level is also unsatisfactory in Suceava Regiune. For example, Dumitru Sologiu, chief of the agitation section of the Suceava Raion Party Committee, declared that he did not understand the subject matter of the decree and that Rosu (fnu), then absent from the raion, was responsible. This type of neglect can be blamed directly on Stefan Bobos, first secretary of the Suceava Regiune Party Committee, and on the raion committees.(7) The 23 August Raion, Bucharest, recently held a conference to discuss increased aid to agitators in the raion. Agitators were directed to use as a guide the material published in issue No 2,704 of Scanteia and entitled "Party Policy, Source of Victory for the Working People." Speakers at the conference pointed out that work in the Vasile Roaita plant, in the Noua Filatura de Bumbac (New Cotton Spinning Mill), and in the Alex Sahia enterprise was poor because agitators were not briefed and instructed. They did not understand party and government policies and they lacked initiative. Speakers also stated that primary party organizations of the raion, such as the organization in the Electroputere plant, maintained a record of the number of agitators' but made no attempt to check the content of their lectures.(8)

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Agitation was particularly poor in the coal industry. For example, numerous letters of complaint addressed to the Petrosani Raion Party Committee show that party organizations do not have adequate contact with the masses. They neglect problems brought up by miners. Thus, many errors occurred in political agitation at the Jieti-Lonea Mine despite the decree of the Central Committee of the RMR for improved political agitation. Instructions to agitators were extremely unrealistic. Primary party organizations 1, 3, and 5 did not brief agitators at all. Ion Obru, secretary of Primary Party Organization 4, came to meetings poorly prepared. In addition, primary party bureaus did not analyze their own mistakes. The party committee of the mine failed to realize the importance of political work for the fulfillment of production plans. Zoltan Pop, chairman of the mine committee, and Ion Stana, chairman of the propaganda and agitation committee, did nothing to improve this situation. Consequently, the mine failed to produce its full quota of coal for 2 consecutive months.(10) On the other hand, 19 agitators at the Lupeni mines carried on agitation to overcome poor labor discipline and absence without cause, and to encourage competitions. As a result, the production plan was fulfilled.(11)

2. Agitation for School Year

The bureau of the Baia-Mare Regiune Party Committee recently held a meeting to analyze the results of the 1952-1953 party school year and the decree of the Central Committee of the RMR calling for improved educational work during the 1953-1954 school year. Errors made in 1952-1953 included the low level of evening party schools and circles, confusion in party seminars, errors in connection with the New Economic Policy, failure of the bureau to understand the importance of party teaching, and poor briefing of propagandists by raion committees. A similar meeting held by the Hungarian Autonomous Regiune Party Committee discussed the fact that the proper content of party education was not adhered to during the 1952-1953 school year.(12)

Members of the bureaus of primary party organizations in Stalin Regiune attended a general meeting to discuss preparation for party courses and circles, and the proper selection of propagandists for the 1953-1954 school year. The party education plan for the Steagul Rosu plant was discussed in detail. The plant has 48 courses and circles. The selection of propagandists was good.

The bureau of the Oradea Regiune Party Committee recently held a meeting to discuss mistakes in party teaching in the regiune during 1952-1953, and how to overcome them in 1953-1954. Discussion revealed that the regiune and raion party committees did not deal with propaganda in a satisfactory manner. Agitation and propaganda sections confined themselves to organizational matters and neglected the quality and content of propaganda. No checks were made on lectures. The meeting itself committed a serious error when it confined itself to a discussion of the report of Vasile Lucaci, secretary of the regiune party committee's agitation and propaganda section, although this report omitted the party decree for better agitation. As a result, the meeting devoted little time to the quality of party teaching and failed to analyze the work of the propaganda aktiv. The discussion following the report was carried on almost exclusively by guests. Only one member of the Oradea Regiune Party Bureau had anything to contribute.(13)

Primary party organizations in public schools play an important role in developing millions of future builders of socialism. Therefore, the content of their agitation and the training of their agitators should be of primary concern. In Tudor Vladimirescu Raion, Bucharest city, for example, there are 32 kindergartens and nurseries, 47 elementary and intermediate schools of various types, and two institutes of higher education. Party activists in these schools operate under 24 primary party organizations. Many of these organizations are not functioning properly, however. They do not work creatively, but merely duplicate or usurp the work of the school administration. Thus, the primary

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party organization of the Intermediate Technical School for Mechanics called meetings of the school council, fixed examination dates, etc. By doing this, the primary party organization interfered with the school administration and neglected its mass political work. Many primary party organizations in intermediate and elementary schools of the raion neglect to mobilize party members and others to improve the education of students, to combat hostile influences, and to uproot foreign concepts which still exist in the minds of the teachers. Consequently, only half of the teachers attend party classes to cite a party and government decree, issued on 16 August 1951, calling for teachers to be educated in Marxism-Leninism.

The Tudor Vladimirescu Union Party Committee failed to meet the ideological standards of teaching in study circles. This is illustrated by the fact that the secretary of the primary party organization in Boys' School No. 13 submitted the name of teacher I. Tudor Vladimirescu for study circle training, although this teacher had made the statement that "this is not against nationalism." Primary party organizations in the raion neglect to supervise the UTM (Union of Tineretului Mun. (Union of Working Youth)) and pioneer organizations as, for example, in the Intermediate Technical School for Roads and Bridges.(2)

3. Selection of Party Candidates

The 15 enterprises in Bucharest, one of the most important in the capital, was asked to select enterprises to select party candidates. Instructions of the Central Committee of the RML in regard to the selection of party candidates were strictly observed. The quality of selectees was high. However, many workers who applied for candidacy were stopped by bureaucracy in the primary party organizations and the party committee of the plant. Nicolae Carpenko, secretary of the party organization of the plant, was particularly at fault. Primary Party Organization No. 9 required 7 months to answer one application and 8 months for another. The raion committee analyzed these errors, but undertook no remedial measures.(14)

The bureau of the primary party organization of the Oradea-Cherrier plant in Oradea made very little preparation for the selection of party candidates, in direct violation of the instructions of the Central Committee of the RML. For this reason, many members of the organization did not know the criteria for selection. Requests for candidacy submitted 4 months ago by activists Stefan Iosif and Ghizela Feher and by UTM members Var. Iosif, Iosif Szunari, and Francisc Bombi have still not been discussed. This bureaucratic attitude toward the selection of party candidates must stop immediately. The Oradea City Committee must make every effort to overcome such errors within enterprises under its jurisdiction.(4)

The primary party organization of the V.I. Lenin Hydroelectric Station in Bicaș selected Stalinists Isidor Pop and Pavel Jorjed and leading worker Gheorghe Dudu as party candidates. The selection of candidates raised much interest in the recruiting plan and many leading workers applied. However, Gavril Rusa, secretary of the primary party organization, did not instruct applicants or call a meeting to discuss their qualifications.

Primary Organization No. 9 of the Metallurgical Plant in Cluj City called general meetings to discuss the qualifications of party candidates. The raion committee of the factory selected the best and showed devotion to the party and the regime, that he was a leading worker, and that he had given on-the-job training to eight workers. In addition, the raion committee was informed by the raion section through a number of requests which were submitted to the raion committee.(15)

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4. Agricultural Agitation

Agitators must concentrate on persuading peasants to deliver their quotas to the state. This is the chief topic of agitation during and after the harvest campaign. Agitators must point out the fact that the state has aided the peasant through the creation of MTS. Today, throughout the country, there are 218 MTS equipped with 9,650 tractors and more than 25,000 agricultural machines. Agitators must also emphasize other forms of aid given the peasant by the state. The agitator must tell the peasant that he buys the products by the working class and in turn helps feed the worker. (16)

The Bucharest Regiune Party Committee is striving to organize mass political work in preparation for the harvest and collection campaigns, and to raise the level of the content of agitation. To achieve this, the regiune committee organized a seminar with secretaries of raion party committees, on propaganda and agitation problems. Precise instructions were given, at the seminar on the organization of meetings, to discuss the decree of the Central Committee of the RMR on improved agitation. The decree called for the formation of collectives of agitators to go from house to house and to visit threshing platforms and grain collection centers. Following the seminar, the committee organized two brigades of trained activists and sent them to Gornesti, Ibanicea, Draganesti, Rosiori-de-Vede, and Vidra to check on agitation for the harvest. Primary party organizations, as a result, selected and confirmed more than 12,000 agitators in the entire regiune.

However, some raion committees of the regiune showed a complete lack of understanding in regard to agitation for harvesting and collections. Raion first secretaries Ion Ivan in Gornesti and Marin Vadu in Ibanicea did good work, but in Calarasi, Rosiori-de-Vede, Vidra, and Vrancea raions, the majority of the primary party organizations failed to carry out the provisions of the decree. (11)

The Hungarian Autonomous Regiune Party Committee, basing itself by its experience of 1952, organized a competition for raion party committees in harvesting and crop collection. This competition involved a number of primary party organizations and committees of the raion party committee to mobilize the peasantry. The regiune committee failed to carry out the decree. However, the 1953 agitation drive resulted in the organization of competitions between communes, villages, and even groups of houses. For example, in Gornesti Commune, Targu-Mures Raion, the 48 agitators were sent by the raion secretary Petre Man, secretary of the primary party organization. Agitators such as Maria Szatyori contacted peasants daily. Intense competitions between groups of houses were organized in Chichis, Bantre, Gornesti Raion; Bantre, Gornesti Raion, etc. In Gornesti, the cultural center held meetings every Sunday. Performances by local artists and entertainers featured the harvest theme. (17)

Harvest is progressing well in Giurgiu Raion as a result of the intensive political work sponsored by the raion party committee. In many communes of the raion, as, for example, in Ciolanu, Belu, Viaru, etc., agitators worked on intensive political work from house to house, showing peasants that it was in their own interest as well as in the best interest of the entire country to complete harvest early and with no losses. Agitators explained to the peasants that the party and the government had passed a decree regarding the delivery of 1953 products in view of the needs of earlier years, and that the MTS incurred as a result of the collectivization of 1951. Agitators explained to peasants that it was a duty of love for each peasant to contribute of labor to the rich 1953 harvest.

Most peasants responded favorably. However, in some communes threshing and collection of grain remained seriously behind schedule. The raion committee could have been checking about this instead of contenting itself with phone

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calls to inquire about the progress of threshing and collections. Agitation was poor in Turbatu, which consequently trailed in the harvest. In Ghizdaru, Stoian Genta, secretary of the primary party organization, failed to instruct agitators in specific tasks. The raion committee, and particularly Gheorghe Siminea, first secretary of the raion committee, failed to organize agitation properly in many communes.(9)

The collective and the agitators of the primary party organization of the Urleasca state farm, Braila Raion, improved political agitation among peasants in conformity with the decree of the Central Committee. Ion Janten, secretary of the primary party organization, instructed agitators to talk about tasks facing members of the state farm and to use all possible means of mass political agitation. The 24 agitators of the primary party organization were briefed on subjects to discuss in connection with the harvest. As a result of these measures, the harvest plan of the farm was fulfilled.(15)

In Tatari Commune, Floesti Regiune, agitation and political work in connection with the harvest were poor. Agitators did little to publicize harvest achievements in other areas or to discuss new methods. The primary party organization failed to draw peasants into competitions.(18)

Agitation work in Telechiu Commune, Alesd Raion, was also very poor. The primary party organization, with the aid of the raion party committee, studied means for improving this situation. A general meeting of the primary party organization led to the selection of new agitators, who were at the same time leading workers. These were Iuliu Szekely, Alexandru Csiki, and Alpareanu Gheorghe. These agitators were assigned groups of houses. Fracisc Fekete, secretary of the primary party organization, kept them informed of current developments. The personal example and instructions of these agitators led to the fulfillment of the harvest plan.(10)

B. ARLUS

1. Soviet Methods

ARLUS (Asociatia Romana pentru Legaturile de Prietenie cu Uniunea Sovietica, Soviet-Rumanian Friendship Society), through its General Council, regiune and raion committees, and enterprise circles, disseminates information on advanced Soviet methods and otherwise encourages workers to fulfill the Five-Year Plan in 4 years. Some ARLUS organizations, including those in Galati, Timisoara, Arad, and other regiunes, obtained good results in this direction. These regiune committees, under the direction of party organizations and in collaboration with party and scientific organizations, carried on a thorough job of popularizing Soviet methods without usurping the functions of other organizations. The Galati Regiune ARLUS Committee, for example, organized a number of conferences on Soviet rapid metal-cutting methods. A total of 160 lathe operators attended. In Timisoara Regiune, the committee organized a conference for miners of Anina and Secul on Soviet rapid mining techniques. The Bacau Regiune Committee organized 32 conferences and 117 discussions, attended by 5,000 workers.

However, many serious errors cropped up in this drive. Many ARLUS organizations were guilty of formalism. Many ARLUS activists limited themselves to discussions of Soviet methods in general. They did not collaborate with trade union organizations in determining the specific needs of individual enterprises. Thus, their agitation benefited no one. One example of formalism occurred in Cluj Regiune, where the Kolesov method of the rapid cutting of metals was publicized at a firewood plant, a chemical plant, and a beet sugar refinery. In Pitesti, this method was popularized at a textile mill. Another type of formalism was the tendency of ARLUS organizations to contact Stakhanovites

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and leading workers while neglecting technicians and other workers entirely. In Pitesti, Constanta, and Stalin regiunes where this occurred, the regiune ARLUS committees forgot that plan fulfillment does not depend on Stakhanovites and leading workers alone.

Some regiune and raion ARLUS committees fail to realize the value of enterprise circles in the popularization of new methods and bypass these circles entirely. A very serious type of error found in many enterprises is the tendency of ARLUS organizations to assume the duties of other organizations in sponsoring competitions and in popularizing advanced methods. The Hungarian Autonomous Regiune ARLUS Committee, for example, usurped the functions of trade union and administrative units in organizing a Stakhanovite day. In Craiova Regiune, the ARLUS organization sponsored practical demonstrations of the Kolesov method instead of confining itself to propaganda.

ARLUS must popularize new methods through propaganda alone and must not interfere with the operations of other organizations. Regiune and raion committees and enterprise circles must regularly organize conferences and discussions on Soviet innovations and rationalizations. To assure the success of these conferences, they must make full use of press articles, pamphlets, and books dealing with Soviet Stakhanovites, as well as documentary material made available by the General Council of ARLUS. ARLUS organizations must "fight with passion" to introduce Soviet methods in all economic fields and must give concrete examples of the superiority of Soviet Stakhanovite methods. They must emphasize that these methods are available to all.

To achieve this, ARLUS activists must constantly raise the level of their economic knowledge, study documentary material on Soviet methods, and carefully study the specific needs of enterprises where these methods are to be popularized. In addition, ARLUS organizations must collaborate strictly with UIM and ASIT (Asociatia Stiintifica a Inginierilor si Tehnicienilor, Scientific Association of Engineers and Technicians) circles.(19)

One of the most effective means of political agitation used by ARLUS is visual agitation. This includes photomontages, window displays, posters, and exhibits. A vigorous visual propaganda campaign was carried out in the city of Bucharest in May 1953, not only to popularize Soviet methods, but to inform the masses of the reduction in prices in the USSR, of the tenth anniversary of the Moldavian SSR, of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Leningrad, etc. Numerous circles in the 23 August works, Vasile Roaita, Grivita Rosie, the Constantin David Mill, the Ministry of Railroads, and other enterprises and organizations carried on this drive with the aid of materials supplied by the General Council of ARLUS and the ARLUS city committee. These displays served to demonstrate graphically to the workers the eagerness of the USSR to raise the standard of living and to improve industry, agriculture, and the cultural life in the Moldavia SSR.

ARLUS circles in enterprises used various types of visual propaganda. For example, the ARLUS circle of the Dinamo plant used photographs of the works and lives of Soviet Stakhanovites Pavel Baykov, Antonina Zhandarova, and Olga Agafonova. The bureaus of the ARLUS circles in Fabrica de medicamente No 7 (Pharmaceutical Plant No 7), Vaile Roaita, and others, encouraged activists with artistic talent to draw up displays.

However, many enterprises and organizations did not cooperate in this drive. Some bureaus did not hold meetings to analyze the effectiveness of their work. Displays at Armatura, Semanatoarea, Drum Nou, and other enterprises did not deal with the proper themes. This shows that the bureaus of the circles of these enterprises did not appreciate the significance of this visual drive and that the raion organization did not supply them with enough material. ARLUS

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organizations throughout the capital tended to neglect leading problems in the USSR, such as the fight for peace, the activities of Soviet scientific institutes, the work and life of Soviet students, etc.

2. Agriculture

The ARLUS circle in Cotofenii-din-Fata, Craiova Regiune, organized numerous political-cultural celebrations and conferences to prepare peasants for the harvest. For example, a conference held on 13 June and attended by 150 peasants discussed the progress of Soviet kolkhozes in the harvest and the eagerness of kolkhoz members to contribute fully to the food supply of the entire Soviet people. The ARLUS circle proposed the organization of eight conferences to popularize Soviet kolkhoz methods and to report on the eagerness of members to supply cities with vegetables. The circle concerned itself with the popularization of Soviet books, and displayed photomontages showing Soviet peasants preparing for the harvest and the happy life of children in the USSR. However, Purcarelu (fnu), chairman of the agriculture section of the raion ARLUS organization, has done little to support this circle or to aid peasants in familiarizing themselves with Soviet methods.(6)

The ARLUS organization of Sannicolaul-Mare Raion summoned chairmen of ARLUS circles in state farms and villages to a meeting to discuss support of the harvest campaign. Activists published articles in wall newspapers and other papers on the work of Soviet kolkhoz members in preparing for the grain harvest. The ARLUS circle of the Perian state farm held discussions based on Soviet documents to describe the rich life of collective members and the close bonds between villages and cities in the USSR. Discussions were held by brigades of collective farms in Comlosul-Mic, Periam, Gelu, Lenaueheim, etc. However, ARLUS circles remained inactive in Igris, Baratetz, Grabati, Sandra, and other communes.(20)

3. Activists

The Targoviste Raion ARLUS Committee recruited a collective of 12 activists to improve the work of the 145 ARLUS circles in the raion. These activists were unpaid volunteers who agreed to devote 2-4 hours of their free time to teaching ARLUS circles in the city of Targoviste. The results obtained by these activists were soon apparent. Hundreds of new members were signed up at the State Bank, the URCC (Uniunea Raionala Cooperatiei Comerciale, Raion Union of Trade Cooperatives), the Higiean Cooperative, the Octombrie Rosu enterprise, etc. Dozens of subscriptions to ARLUS publications were sold.

However, these activists were assigned to circles without regard for their knowledge or qualifications. Furthermore, the activists actually performed the functions of the raion bureau while the members of the bureau concerned themselves solely with figures and schedules. The raion bureau failed to hold regular monthly meetings to discuss errors. It assigned abstract tasks to activists and failed to agitate for fulfillment of the 1953 production plan in 11 months through the use of Soviet methods. The harvest campaign and the socialist transformation of agriculture were not supported.

The poor work of the raion bureau, despite the use of these volunteers, was largely due to the poor support given by the regiune committee and the General Council of ARLUS. The Targoviste Raion ARLUS Committee can improve its agitation by increasing the number of activists and by mobilizing more workers, peasants, and intellectuals with ARLUS experience. The qualification of each activist must be considered and he must be assigned to areas familiar to him. For example, men sent to villages must be familiar with agricultural problems.(20)

The use of unpaid activists by the Suceava Raion ARLUS Committee, under chairman Petru Calarasu, produced good results in some instances. The activists formed a collective which supervised the activities of circles, such

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as listening to the ARLUS hour on Radio Moscow, writing letters to Soviet workers, and carrying on agitation through radiofication stations. However, the work of these activists was not completely satisfactory because they had so many other duties that they were unable to attend meetings. The raion committee increased recruitment of activists in order to overcome this situation. As a result, 65 new circles of listeners were organized to hear the ARLUS hour in Simnicea, Scheial, Brudjeni, and other areas. The collective of lecturers of the ARLUS Raion Committee talked at affairs sponsored by circles in 26 villages and many enterprises. Lectures in villages dealt with the activities of Soviet kolkhozes. More than 78 circles in the raion heard lectures on "The Day of Victory," presented on 9 May. The raion committee planned monthly meetings to analyze the work of the unpaid activists.(19)

The Hungarian Autonomous Regiune ARLUS Committee is making an effort to attract intellectuals to aid in propaganda and in the documentation of lectures. Many intellectual workers of Targu-Mures were recently invited to a symposium on the topic "Participation of Soviet Intellectuals in the Building of Socialism." At another meeting, professors and inventors aided the regiune committee to discuss the preparation of Soviet students for examinations. Minutes of this meeting were distributed among ARLUS circles in schools and helped many students pass their final examinations. The ARLUS committee of the city of Targu-Mures supervised discussions conducted in intermediate and higher educational institutions to persuade students to participate in ARLUS activities in villages, cities, and health stations during vacations. The regiune committee also sponsored discussions and symposiums presented by raion committees and circles to give students returning from the USSR an opportunity to convey their impressions of that country.(19)

4. Press in Agitation

In order to support its cultural-political work, ARLUS publishes Veac Nou, an illustrated monthly entitled URSS-azi (USSR Today), and a periodical entitled Noviy Vek (New Century), all of which popularize the achievements of communism in the USSR. These publications emphasize the fight of the USSR for peace, the building of a happy life, Soviet advanced methods, the achievements of Soviet art and science, etc. Thus, these publications greatly aid the work of ARLUS members and other workers. In addition, Veac Nou popularizes examples of good work in ARLUS organizations and thus contributes to the improvement of the work of the entire association.

The value of these publications was recently emphasized at conferences of ARLUS organizations held in Bucharest, Ploesti, Galati, and Braila, and at the Scanteia and Grivita Rosie collectives. Speakers at these conferences stressed the value of articles on new methods in metallurgy, textiles, and other fields, on ways of organizing work in enterprises and collectives, and on the cultural life of the USSR.

ARLUS publications provide activists with good material for their talks. However, there are still many activists who do not quote these publications. Activists of the Bucharest Raion Committee are guilty in this respect. Members of the Galati City ARLUS Committee stated that they were so busy working in the field that they could not find time to read ARLUS publications. On the other hand, the Cluj Regiune Committee encouraged greater use of published materials by committees and circles in railroad installations, in the Ianos Herbak plant in Cluj, and in the Industria-Jarmei in Turda.

The majority of the regiune ARLUS committees formed brigades to organize the instruction of activists in raions. Meetings were held with chairmen of cultural circles. These meetings were successful in Cluj and Ploesti, but less so in Arad Regiune where 400 of the 674 circles had no subscriptions to ARLUS

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publications. Another 10% of the circles had no press chairmen. In Baia-Mare and Constanta, committees failed to popularize ARLUS publications. In Bucharest city, the ARLUS committee bureau claimed that other duties prevented it from devoting any attention to the press.

Many activists showed a bureaucratic attitude in selling subscriptions. For example, some members of the propaganda and documents section of the General Council of ARLUS and instructors of the council were more interested in the number of subscriptions than in supervision of the manner in which they were procured. Some regiune and raion bureaus and circles set up subscription quotas without bothering to instruct those who were entrusted with popularizing the press.

Regiune and raion committees showed no interest in the wishes and needs of their readers. They merely checked to see if the papers arrived. These committees failed to collaborate with organs of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications to improve press dissemination. ARLUS editors receive many letters complaining of poor dissemination of the press by organs of this ministry. Some complaints state that Veac Nou arrives late; others state that they never receive the paper although they paid for subscriptions. In Insurarei, Galati Regiune, 190 subscribers of the Grivita Rosie Collective failed to receive any papers for the first quarter of 1953. Consequently, only six renewed subscriptions for the second quarter. Complaints from the Oradea railroad installation, from the Progresul plant in Braila, and from Vasile Roaita Commune in Constanta stated that poor addressing was responsible for the loss of newspapers.(20)

Recently, editors of Veac Nou attended a conference with readers in Galati. Twenty persons who addressed the conference criticized the editors for mistakes and made suggestions for improvement. Men from Sovromnaval and the railroad workshop in Galati complained that technical articles on new Soviet methods were infrequent and lacked illustrations. A reader from the N. Cristea Plant complained that the paper did not discuss methods of rolling or other phases of the steel industry. Other speakers declared Veac Nou to be negligent in discussing Soviet law and justice, labor reserve schools, pedagogical training, cultural-artistic activities in Soviet schools, the life of Soviet artisan cooperative members, the experiences of Soviet students, etc. Speakers criticized the Galati City ARLUS Committee for poor press distribution.(20)

C. UTM

1. Duties

The UTM faces a task of great responsibility -- the communist education of youth and the mobilization of youth to fulfill the Five-Year Plan. The successful achievement of these duties requires a high level of mass political work and close ties between UTM organizations and the mass of unorganized youth.(21) Current emphasis in UTM agitation is on the mobilization of youth to fulfill the 1953 state plan, on the harvest and collection drive, and on preparation for the two world youth festivals in Bucharest. UTM administrative organizations must strengthen primary organizations to enable them to mobilize youth. City and raion UTM committees must aid primary UTM organizations through the political education of young people.(21) UTM organizations must maintain strict ties with youth in factories, villages, collectives, schools, and universities in order to attract more and more youths to educational productive work. The organizations must educate the masses of young people in order to raise their professional qualifications and to instill in them a love of work and discipline.(22)

Each primary organization has its own local problems in addition to duties common to all. Thus, the Segarcea Raion UTM Committee is primarily concerned with agriculture, and therefore is carrying on agitation through

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primary organizations in MTS and through mobile libraries to prepare youth for the harvest. All regiune, raion, and city UTM committees must become familiar with the specific problems of their primary organizations. This requires that secretaries and agitators of these organizations visit factories, villages, collectives, state farms, and institutes in order to discover the problems facing youth. They must fight bureaucracy by speaking with individual UTM members and not only with secretaries of primary organizations. The visit of an agitator to a primary organization can be of value if he does not deprive the organization of its functions. For example, when Ion Topola, instructor of the Tudor Vladimirescu Raion UTM Committee, visited the Tehnica Constructii enterprise, he discovered that poor production discipline among youths was caused by poor political work on the part of the UTM primary organization. The organization had grown to 100 members and was too unwieldy to be effective. He suggested the formation of five UTM control posts (posturi de control). On the other hand, the Arad Regiune UTM Committee bureau ordered that 11 primary organizations confine their agitation to a prescribed seven topics, thus limiting their freedom of action.(11)

2. Mobilization of Youth

UTM instructors are to be used for the education of young people and for strengthening ties between the raion committees and the masses through primary organizations. A good example of the achievements of UTM instructors may be seen in Tudor Vladimirescu Raion, Bucharest. These instructors learned the best means to organize youth by reading Komsomol, Din Experienta Consumului, and the party life columns of Scanteia and Scanteia Tineretului. Instructors of the raion were assigned to various enterprises and schools. Each instructor studied the problems of each primary organization at the place of assignment, and contacted the secretary of the party organization, members of the UTM committee, and members of the UTM primary organization.

For example, an inspection made by Ion Topola, instructor of the Tudor Vladimirescu Raion UTM Committee, at the Flacara Rosie plant revealed that UTM work was poor and members of the UTM Committee did not participate in the administration of primary organizations. The instructor, with the aid of the party organization, discovered that the secretary of the UTM primary organizations was the son of a kulak and was trying to hinder the work of his own organization. Consequently, he was unmasked and replaced by Constantin Georgescu, a good UTM member.(23) The UTM primary organization of the Irinia Sencovici factory is not carrying out its task of mobilizing all young people to engage in educational and productive work. There is evidence of sectarianism. Only UTM members are drawn into activities. The factory party organization called the attention of the UTM committee to this situation and directed it to take the education of youth more seriously.(24)

Andrian Efimov, UTM organizer in Brigade No 12 of the Intreprinderea Piscicola (Jurilofea Fishing Enterprise), Constanta, complained that the commune UTM primary organization was operating poorly. The education of youth was being neglected. As a result of his complaint, political work was begun to mobilize unorganized youth. UTM members decided to use free time to discuss and read newspaper articles and pamphlets and to organize sports and artistic teams.(21)

The Buzau Raion UTM Committee is striving to establish closer ties with the masses of youth, to improve mobilization. As a result, UTM members and other young people bring problems to the raion committee daily. For example, Rail-road Trade School No 3 in Buzau informed the committee of the improper attitude of Vasile Servan, director of the school, toward the students. In consequence, Alexandru Florescu, first secretary of the raion committee, visited the school and found this to be true. He brought the matter to the attention of the teaching

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section of the raion people's council, which took measures to liquidate the errors. Another problem solved by the raion committee was that of the secretary of the Berca Oil Field Primary UTM Organization, who complained that he could not perform his duties properly because he was new at the job. He was aided in doing better work by the raion committee and, as a result, 100 additional oil workers joined the UTM at the field. The Buzau Raion committee also overcame the bureaucratic tendencies of activists who confined themselves to drawing up statistics, by sending them to the field and by requiring them to accept suggestions from the masses. In addition, the raion UTM committee helped to organize discussions between youths in Metallurgical Trade Schools 1 and 2, and helped students of the local girls' school to arrange a visit to the Berca Oil Field. The Buzau UTM committee further mobilized more than 15,000 UTM members and other young people for the harvest.(24)

Many UTM primary organizations in Ramnicul-Sarat Raion, Ploesti Regiune, are carrying on intensive agitation to attract new members to the UTM, according to the report of Vasile Marcu, secretary of the organizations section of the raion committee. As a result, 350 youths recently entered the UTM. Particularly good results were obtained in the Ziduri Collective and in the 1 Mai Metallurgical Cooperative. New members are given a communist education and are helped to increase their work capacity. They are then given specific UTM duties.(25)

Iosif Lobodics, first secretary of the Timisoara Raion UTM Committee, reported that the committee had analyzed the operations of two of the UTM primary organizations in the raion. One of these, the UTM primary organization of the Ceramica plant, operated without plans. It accepted no new members, and, as a result, included only 25 percent of the youths in the factory. The bureau of the organization sponsored very few cultural, art, and sports activities in preparation for the festivals in Bucharest. It failed to educate youths or to mobilize them for productive labor. On the other hand, the UTM primary organization of the Ortisora Collective had better results. The content of its agitation was richer. It tried to attract youths to work. As a result, there were no absences and many youths took part in sports and cultural activities. The raion bureau, in analyzing its own work, discovered that much was yet to be done in the education of youth and in the application of party policies. It learned that many youths had expressed a desire to make better use of their free time. As a result, the bureau organized an artistic team of 80 youths. The Dinas UTM primary organization mobilized youths to clean up and beautify the commune. In Jimbolia, youths gave 4,500 hours of voluntary labor to build a pioneer house. The Cenei Commune UTM organization invited youths to a conference on "The Life and Rights of Youth in the RFR." As a result of these measures, youths throughout the raion applied for membership.(26)

The UTM primary organization committee in the Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej Sovrom-utilaj-petrolifer (Petroleum Equipment) Plant in Targoviste carried on agitation to mobilize youths to fulfill the production plan for petroleum equipment.(27)

UTM committees all over the country are preparing for the Bucharest youth festivals. However, the Strehaia Raion UTM Committee failed to mobilize the youths of the raion. It even "forgot" that a UTM primary organization existed in Gura-Menitiei village and therefore did not contact it. Thus the village added no new members in 1953, although many youths applied, and drew up no plan to prepare for the congresses. The Strehaia Raion UTM Committee maintains poor liaison with the mass of UTM members and other youths of the raion. It neglects to control and supervise the activities of primary UTM organizations. Activists rarely visit these organizations, and then contact only the secretary or the administrative committee.(28) The UTM organization of the Grivita Rosie plant in Bucharest pledged to achieve economies in honor of the world youth festivals. However, it did not organize a drive to facilitate

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the fulfillment of these pledges. Young Stakhanovites were not mobilized as agitators. Wall newspapers were not put to use. The UTM, in addition, did not employ the plant newspaper, Grivita Rosie, for agitation. No visual agitation was used to persuade young workers of the value of economies. The content of agitation was neglected and the party organization was given no support. Ion Ilie, secretary of the UTM primary organization, did not even concern himself personally with the agitation drive, but assigned this task to Marin Iordache, committee assistant in charge of political teaching.(29)

3. Mobilization of Youth For the Harvest

Many UTM organizations throughout Craiova Regiune are supervising the mobilization of youth for threshing. However, not all raion committees are doing good work. For example, the Filiasi Raion UTM Committee is working superficially. It is not aware of the progress of threshing, nor does it know how many UTM members have been assigned to threshing, transport, or supervisory work. The Craiova Regiune UTM committee's agriculture section merely issues instructions to raion committees without follow-up or analysis. Ion Popeanga, chief of the regiune UTM Committee's agriculture section showed an objectionable lack of interest in the threshing program.(21)

Threshing was completely unsatisfactory in Slobozia Raion, Bucharest Regiune. This situation can be blamed directly on the raion people's council, but the UTM committee is also responsible because of its failure to mobilize youth for the harvest. The UTM devoted very little attention to agitation for threshing. The good results obtained by the Ciunuta and Suditi collectives, the Ciunuta TOZ, and a few other farms were not held up as models by the raion committee. Many UTM organizations did not draw up plans for the harvest. Organizations in Ivanesti and Chimpoti held no meetings during the entire growing season. The raion UTM committee was aware of this situation and drew up a plan for improvement. However, the plan was never implemented. Secretary Traian Bucura and other members of the raion UTM committee remained in their offices and made no effort to check the progress of the harvest personally. Ilie Bascalu, chief of the raion organizations section, prepared a report for the 20 July meeting, but did not bother to check the accuracy of figures. The meeting did not discuss the Brodiuk method or urgent harvest problems. No one knew why primary organizations had not held meetings.(28)

Ion Vitan, secretary of the UTM primary organization of Comana Commune, Bucharest Regiune, reported that the organization recently held a meeting to discuss the government and party decree on the harvest. Each member of the UTM primary organization was contacted and was assigned a specific task. Thus, Nicu Radu, member of the committee, was assigned to support UTM agitators. In addition, the UTM mustered pioneers, wrote articles for street newspapers, and brought a speaker from the capital. Constantin Popescu, chief of the culture section, brought pamphlets and books on threshing and harvesting and distributed them among peasants working on threshing platforms. As a result of this well organized agitation, most of the UTM members volunteered to help with the harvest.(29)

Marin Fronis, secretary of the UTM primary organization in Retunda Commune, Craiova Regiune, reported that a general meeting had been held to mobilize youth of the commune to speed up threshing and delivery of quotas to the state and to beautify the commune. The general meeting agreed that political work among young peasants would have to be strengthened, and new agitators were appointed for this purpose. Subsequently, students and pioneers were organized to gather wheat. UTM groups led in the application of advanced Soviet methods.(30)

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Gheorghe Mihailcen, first secretary of the Segarcea Raion UTM Committee, Craiova Regiune, reported that the organization committee organized mass political work among young people in preparation for the harvest and collection drives. General and open meetings of UTM organizations in MTS, collectives, TOC, and villages discussed duties of the UTM members and other youths, and methods of mobilizing nonmembers for work in the fields. For example, an open meeting sponsored by the primary UTM organization of the Segarcea MTS discussed the role of youth in the repair of machinery.(31) Organizational work and agitation among youth groups in MTS is particularly difficult during the harvest season when tractor drivers are scattered about the fields at great distances from stations. Poor organization, however, is harmful to the harvest. Young drivers must be drawn into competitions, particularly by being shown the outstanding results of competitions in other parts of the country. They must be told of the significance of the harvest in increasing the food supply of the industrial worker and of the advantages of the MTS wage system, which is based on quantity and quality of work, and which brought wages as high as 1,500-2,000 lei per man in the spring of 1953. Mobile libraries should furnish UTM members in MTS with books on new methods and with material to further their education.(32)

4. UTM Conferences

Gaspar Buzas, secretary of the Oradea Regiune UTM Committee, reported that regiune and raion conferences had been held to discuss strengthening the internal party democracy in the UTM, as well as other problems of the organization. One means of strengthening internal democracy--greater participation by members--has been achieved in some areas of the regiune. Other raion and city UTM organizations have realized the value of greater membership participation in decisions and are organizing more frequent meetings and conferences. In Beius, Alsed, and Marghita raions, and in Oradea city, the committees failed to hold plenary sessions. Consequently, they were not able to discuss their own errors in recruitment and other policies. Thus they accepted no new members and turned away qualified applicants. Such instances prove the worth of frequent conferences with member participation.

UTM primary organization bureaus should contact raion committees to obtain suggestions and materials to make meetings successful. The preparation made by bureaus largely determines the success of the meetings. Many bureaus throughout Oradea Regiune prepare poorly and do not include local problems on the agenda. They do not brief activists, and do not demonstrate enough initiative in discovering and overcoming errors. The regiune UTM committee is giving full support to all organizations and such errors should not occur.(34)

Gheorghe Gaman, first secretary of the Timisoara City UTM Committee, reported that the UTM had learned, from the IHR organization, of the value of meetings as a means of giving a Communist education to youth and of strengthening the ties between the UTM and the masses. The Timisoara City UTM Committee has devoted special attention to organizing general meetings. It has instructed all activists on the best preparation for meetings. Consequently, many UTM primary organizations in Timisoara make the agenda known well in advance of a meeting date. For example, the committee of the Professional Railroad School meets several days before each general meeting, to discuss problems of teaching and study. Secretary Stefan Stancuta and other members are assigned specific topics to prepare and present. The committee analyzes teaching, professors, the school director, and other mutual interests. Three days before the meeting, the agenda are published in wall newspapers and spread by man-to-man agitation.

General meetings which are so well prepared have often served to overcome errors. For example, a general meeting at the Timisoara Locomotive Depot severely criticized Gheorghe Padureanu, chief of the physical culture and sports section of the committee, for his lack of interest in his work. A general

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meeting of the UTM organization in the Industria Metallurgica Banateana (Banat Metallurgical Enterprise) asked for the removal of the chiefs of the political and cultural sections because of their neglect of duty. A general meeting of the UTM at the Nikos Beloiannis factory organized a drive to collect scrap metal. A general meeting of the UTM organization in the Incaltamintea Cooperativa (Footwear Cooperative) discovered and expelled the son of a kulak. The secretary of the FMR organization in Electromotor, addressing a general meeting of the UTM, severely criticized the UTM committee for neglecting its principal tasks. On the other hand, poorly prepared meetings, such as those at Electrobanat, were of much less value. The Timisoara City UTM Committee must, therefore, devote increasing attention to the proper organization of meetings. (33)

When Constantin Sandu, secretary of the UTM primary organization in the Intermediate Technical Trade School, Pitesti, was criticized by the Pitesti Regiune UTM Committee for neglecting political agitation to support quota fulfillment, he immediately called a general meeting to arrange for improvement. (23)

UTM members of the Intermediate Technical Horticultural School in Lipova, Arad Regiune, called for a general meeting to review their work and to plan improvements. Alexandru Mac, chief of the UTM organizations section of the raion, was invited to attend. The following difficulties were brought up at the meeting: Anghel Creanga, secretary of the UTM primary organization at the Maidort MTS, complained of the lack of personnel. Activists of the Lipova Raion UTM Committee have no liaison with young people and do nothing to raise their material and cultural level. Ties between the raion committee, the primary organizations, and the mass of youth are inadequate. The raion committee did nothing to overcome these errors. Most activists sent out from headquarters remained in the field for only a day and failed to accomplish their missions. They preferred assignments to areas with good housing and canteens rather than to places where they were really needed. During 1953, not a single activist visited Petris, Seliste, Corbest, Rosianoua, or other communities along a 50-kilometer-long road through the raion. This lack of concern for the education of youth is merely the reflection of the poor training of secretaries and propagandists of primary organizations. It was concluded that Simon Petru, chairman of the raion committee, must see that these errors are eliminated and must send activists to the field. (34)

D. Trade Unions

1. Education of Workers

The new trade union statute stipulates that unions must educate workers, engineers, technicians, and functionaries by raising their political, ideological, and professional level. To fulfill this function, enterprise committees must carry on mass cultural activities through trade union clubs and cultural commissions. (35) The FMR has assigned the Communist education of workers to trade unions. To achieve this purpose, the Central Council of Unions in the RFR (Consiliul Central al Sindicatelor din RFR) established a large network of clubs, red corners, libraries, etc. (36)

A decree issued by the Central Committee of the FMR on 30 April 1953 called on trade union organizations to increase their cultural-educational activities among workers. (37) In conformity with this decree, union committees in enterprises, institutes, and state farms must constantly increase the size of their libraries. The Vasile Rosita plant in Bucharest, for example, has a good library containing the Marxist-Leninist classics, the works of Stalin, and the documents of the 14th Congress of the CPSU. Regular procurement of ideological, technical, and literary works has raised the readership to 45 percent of the plant labor force. The union enterprise committee of the 30 December Factory in Arad is also making every effort to round out its library. It has procured books in Hungarian and German to satisfy the needs of workers of the national minorities. The enterprise committees of the Metrom Plant in the city of Stalin and of Electropneumatica in Suceava have devoted a great deal of attention to their libraries.

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However, many enterprises have neglected this phase of the Communist education of workers. The CFR (Cale Ferata Romana, Rumanian Railroad) Workshop in Nicolina-Iasi has obtained no new books since June 1952. The furniture factory in Pancota, Arad Raion, bought no books during the first quarter of 1953, and only 5 percent of its workers use the library. The 7 Noembrie textile plant in Bucharest does not spend its book allotment. Other enterprises actually misuse funds specified for books. For example, Jean Vladescu, chief of the financial section of the Victoria Store Committee, used the book money to buy costumes for actors and singers. The enterprise committee of the Vasilescu plant in Media spends book money for sports. Thus, these enterprise committees prevent workers from raising the level of their party knowledge and from reading about new ways to fulfill the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.(38)

Union clubs and cultural commissions, when properly operated, are as effective as libraries in the political education of the worker. Clubs educate workers in the socialist attitude toward work, and in eager patriotism toward the RPR and proletarian internationalism. The Ianos Herbak plant in the city of Cluj, for example, understands the value of clubs and is therefore giving its own union club full support. The club holds conferences, current events sessions, literary evenings, etc. During 1953, the club organized a series of conferences on specific problems of the factory. The number of readers in the plant library rose to 3,900 in May 1953.

Some activities of this club are poor, however. The club fails to circulate newspapers and periodicals and does not orient the workers on the international situation. The club is very active in sports, but devotes little time to political and scientific themes and neglects the ideological level of its athletes. Many of the other clubs in the city of Cluj do not devote their attention to production problems. Thus, a metal workers' club under Rozalia Fodor devotes itself exclusively to sports and dances. The Union of Workers in the Metallurgical, Electrical, Ferrous and Nonferrous Mines Industries has done nothing to orient the activity of the club along proper channels. The Cluj Regiune clubs of the Union of Press, Cultural, and Polygraphic Workers also gave theater and opera performances without regard for political work.(36)

Recently, workers of the 30 Decembrie Plant in Arad held a general meeting to elect a new club administrative committee. Stakhanovites and other workers attending the meeting pointed out many errors committed by the outgoing committee. The committee had not devoted sufficient attention to the political content of its work. It failed to realize the need for popularizing advanced Soviet methods. The club program had not provided for conferences between leading workers and those who failed to fulfill their quotas, or between older workers and youths; and it had not provided for other forms of technical propaganda. Club cultural affairs were poorly arranged. Hours were announced so tardily that attendance was usually very poor. The club library of 27,000 volumes in Rumanian and other languages was seldom used.(39)

In Cluj Regiune, the trade union council made no preparations for the election of new club administrative committees, due to the fact that such elections are going on throughout the country. These elections constitute a means for improving club work and therefore they should be a chief concern of all union organizations.(36)

The 7 Noembrie plant in Bucharest failed to support its union cultural commission under Adam Niculina. The commission itself operated inefficiently. Its operations plan was based neither on the party line nor on the principles of union education. The commission sponsored no meetings on the domestic or international situation or on the fight for peace. The few lectures which it sponsored failed to quote party newspapers. The enterprise committee of the plant did not agitate for the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan in 5 years.

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Soviet methods were neither discussed nor explained by the plant newspaper or over the loudspeaker system. The plant cultural commission showed a complete lack of appreciation for artistic work and visual agitation. It failed to mobilize the mass of workers or to raise their political, cultural, or professional levels. (35)

The education of Rumanian workers was discussed recently at a conference held by the Cluj Regiune Council of Trade Unions and sponsored by the Publishing House (Editura) of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The conference emphasized the value of the press in the education of workers and drew up editorial plans for 1954. Participants requested publication of booklets on the Korovtshin method, on commerce, and on labor protection and safety measures. (40)

2. Internal Democracy

Stakhanovites, leading workers, technicians, engineers, and directors of forestry units in the Hungarian Autonomous Regiune recently attended a meeting in the city of Reghin to analyze the resolutions of the Third Congress of Trade Unions, held in March 1953. This meeting was part of a drive by the Secretariat of the Central Council of Trade Unions to create internal democracy, by permitting lower echelon union organizations to express the desires and needs of the working masses. Reports presented by Ludovic Curcu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union Workers in the Wood, Paper, and Forestry Industry, and by brigades of the Central Council of Trade Unions, as well as subsequent discussions, revealed the achievements and errors of unions in this industry. One of the most important problems discussed was that of internal democracy. Union organizations in enterprises and institutes must respond increasingly to the needs and desires of the masses. This is stipulated in the trade union statute of 1953. Internal democracy involves criticism, self-criticism, proper selection of new members, and liquidation of bureaucratic administration in union organizations. New members must be selected at meetings attended by a majority of the members. Persuasion, education, and explanation should be used to induce workers to join and to aid union members in reaching decisions. Orders issued from above limit the participation of the masses in union activities.

The Hungarian Autonomous Regiune Committee of the Union of Workers in the Wood, Paper, and Forestry Industry has not devoted enough attention to the problem of internal democracy. Emeric Glick, secretary of the regiune union committee, simply took workers of Toplita forestry enterprises into the union without any election or vote by the members. Iosif Tusa, chairman of the regiune union committee permitted the committee of a wood enterprise in Odorheea to elect members at a meeting attended by less than two thirds of the required majority. Ion Tudora, chairman of the Bacau Regiune Committee of the Union, violated the union statute when he permitted the chairman of a forestry enterprise committee in Tarcu to collect a wage for the last 5 days of employment, despite the fact that he did not actually appear at the plant. Another example of the lack of democracy which harms unions in the eyes of the masses is the failure of enterprise committees of forestry enterprises in Ghesti, Bacau, and Vatra Burnei to report union activities to the members since their election over a year ago.

The union committee of the Hungarian Autonomous Regiune forgave these and many other mistakes. Its political level is low because it does not engage in criticism and self-criticism. As a result, workers are dissatisfied. This is evidenced by the fact that Ion Gliga, a moral agent, who shows no respect for workers and who uses bureaucratic methods, was elected to the enterprise committee of one plant.

All these examples show that the committees of the central committee and the union committees of the Hungarian Regiune habitually tolerate mistakes. (41)

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3. Workers' Welfare

The Bacau Regiune Union Council, which is in charge of all union organizations in the regiune, shows a lack of interest in internal democracy by ignoring letters of complaint received from workers every day. These letters point out mistakes in production enterprises, poor work by union and administrative organizations, and infractions of laws. The CSR (Consiliul Sindical Regional, Regiune Union Council) of Bacau was sharply criticized for this type of error. As a result of this criticism, Vasile Rusu, a member of the presidium of the CSR, was delegated to take care of letters of complaint. He has solved 98 problems submitted since his appointment in March, and 46 complaints in the files before his appointment. Some of the complaints were as follows: Workers of the ISEM /Intreprinderile Statului pentru Exploatarea Miniera, State Mining Enterprises?/ in Targu-Ocna complained that Gheorghe Negrea, who does not meet party standards, had been elected to the enterprise committee. The CSR investigated and found the accusation to be just. It then sponsored a general meeting at which the workers unmasked and removed him. Complaints from other enterprises in the regiune stated that rules and regulations decided upon by workers at general meetings were not respected by enterprise committees. Because of the large number of complaints, Ioan Pavel, chief labor safety inspector, and Lupu Wold, of the CSR supply section, were assigned to help Rusu.(40)

The Secretariat of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the RPR criticized the manner in which the central committees of workers unions and functionaries of local enterprises and state administrative organizations were solving the problems brought up by members of the Union of Workers and Functionaries in Local Enterprises and State Administrative Institutes. The central committee of this union received 135 letters of complaint during 1953, but settled only 32 of them. Among the problems still to be solved is that of Ruxandra Zamfirescu, who lives at Strada Orituz No 12, Buzau. She wrote on 15 March that she had been discharged from the job she had held for 10 years in the Ploesti Regiune Directorate of Statistics. She was given verbal notice, without explanation, by Director Valcu (fnu), despite the fact that the labor code provides for written notice and explanation. She submitted complaint No 31,909 to the Central Directorate of Statistics in Bucharest on 13 April 1953. She received no answer. Her husband then went to the office of the Directorate in Bucharest. He waited for 3 hours to see Coman (fnu), of the personnel service, but the latter refused to see him. Mrs Zamfirescu then wrote to the Central Council of Trade Unions. On 18 April, the council directed her to the Central Committee of the Union of Workers and Functionaries in Local Enterprises and State Administrative Institutes. However, this committee never acted on her request for an explanation. Early in May 1953, she was visited by Zehiu (fnu) of the Buzau Regiune Union Committee. He reprimanded her for writing directly to the Central Union Council, and declared that the problem should have been solved locally. Thus far, the Ploesti Regiune Union Committee has done nothing to help her. This union committee does not operate through union activists or other local bodies, and therefore maintains poor liaison with the masses and deprives local organizations of authority. Letters of complaint sent to the Buzau City Litigations commission (comisia de litigii) have not been acted upon because that body has been inactive for some time.(42)

The newspaper Munca receives many letters of complaint pointing out cases of bureaucratism, lack of interest in the welfare of workers, and deviations from the party line. The newspaper forwards these letters to organizations in charge of the particular sector, for further action. Trade unions in health enterprises and institutions habitually ignore these letters. For example, a letter complaining of poor quality and insufficient food at the Sigea Sanatorium was forwarded to the Ministry of Health. The Ministry sent an

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investigator who discovered numerous infractions of regulations and other abuses. When this situation was brought to the attention of the sanatorium administration, the latter simply transferred the critic to another sanatorium. When the Union of Workers in Health Institutes and Enterprises was informed that nothing had been done to correct the errors, it took no action.

Munca received a letter on 22 May 1953 from the Central Committee of the Union of Workers in the Petroleum, Chemical, Methane Gas, and Saline Industry, complaining that a team of workers at the Sovrompetrol installation in Hureceni did not receive full pay after being transferred, as a result of confusion created by the many forms to be filled out. The complaint was forwarded by the newspaper to the organizations section of the union and an activist was sent out to investigate. The problem was solved after a delay of almost 2 months.

The Central Committee of the Union of Workers in the Metallurgical, Electric, Ferrous, and Nonferrous Mines Industries complained in a letter to Munca that enamel workers in the Victoria plant, Calan, were not receiving benefits due men working at high temperatures under conditions harmful to health. Munca forwarded the letter, with a request for explanation, to the Ministry of Metallurgical Industries. The latter answered promptly, promising to remedy the situation, but the union failed to press the matter further.

Pensioners wrote a letter of complaint to the Directorate of Pensions in the Ministry of Social Welfare, stating that pension payments were very irregular. Munca forwarded the letter on 20 May with a request for explanation, but has received no answer. (43)

Workers also voice their complaints to union activists who visit their places of work. These activists are entrusted with the task of bringing the complaints to the attention of union organizations. Many union organizations have mobilized large numbers of activists to contact workers for this purpose. However, not all union organizations are implementing this program properly. Ion Moldovanu, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Union of Workers in the Coal Industry, who is in charge of union activities in mines in Timisoara Regiune, does not know the needs and desires of the miners. Miners of Anina complained that they were not receiving the benefits due them under a decree of 3 July 1953. However, Moldovanu is not aware of these complaints since he has not visited Anina for 6 months. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Union of Railroad Workers neglects the needs of its workers. For example, union and administrative organs of the Timis Marshaling Yards neglected housing. In Sighisoara, no sleeping quarters were provided for railroad workers. (42)

The welfare of the worker is also a primary reason for the collective contract drawn up between the enterprise committee and the enterprise management. The collective contract constitutes a daily program for workers, technicians, and functionaries, as well as for the administrative units of factories, shops, and mines. Consequently, the collective contract is of great value in mobilizing the mass of workers to fulfill the production plan and to raise the standard of living. (44) However, numerous enterprises ignore the welfare benefits of the collective contract. For example, the administration of the Atelierele Principale CFR (Main CFR Workshops) in Simeri failed to observe most of the provisions of its collective contract. The loudspeaker system, for example, has only five of the promised 16 speakers. In the Progresul Works in Braila, the collective contract was not fulfilled because Boeru (fnu), chairman of the Galati Regiune Union Council, failed to show any interest in its enforcement. (45)

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Workers, technicians, and functionaries of the petroleum equipment plant in Moreni fulfilled their production plan for the first 6 months of 1953, earning a 50,000 lei prize for the plant as the leader in the petroleum equipment field. However, instead of rewarding his workers, Director Gheorghe Gatej failed to carry out the collective contract. The contract provided for 12 dwelling units and a women's lounge. Funds were available, but they were not used. Gheorghe Stanescu, chairman of the enterprise committee, tried to conceal the mistakes of the administration instead of agitating for fulfillment of the collective contract. The Ministry of Petroleum Industry failed to take any action in this matter, and the Central Committee of the Union of Workers in the Petroleum, Chemical, Methane Gas, and Saline Industries has failed to press for enforcement of the contract to date.(43)

The management of the Auto enterprise in Bucharest failed to install a ventilation system, to organize a red corner, to build a library, and to provide pay books (carnetelor de salarizare), although the collective contract called for them. Stefan Edves, director of the plant, concealed the reasons for this neglect. Ion Sima, secretary of the enterprise committee, made no effort to discover the reasons or to remedy the situation. Since the workers of Auto successfully fulfilled their pledges and production plan, they are entitled to the benefits of the collective contract.(37)

It is obvious that too many union activists do not know how to deal with administrative organs which neglect the rights of workers and ignore the collective contract.(42)

Numerous plant administrations have ignored the problem of labor safety and accident prevention, although many suggestions are submitted by workers. This situation is particularly serious in Printing House No 1, Bucharest. Administrators of the enterprise have ignored valuable suggestions made by workers, even though these suggestions would require little funds and labor. Consequently, accidents have occurred as a result of poorly insulated wires, broken floorboards, weak beams, and defective tools. Labor safety suggestions have been ignored because of the lack of interest and the bureaucratic attitude of ministers and of the Central Council of Trade Unions. Labor safety sections are weak, especially in the Union of Workers in the Construction and Construction Materials Industries and in ministries dealing with wood and wood products.(45)

4. Agriculture

The harvest in Iasi Regiune is the richest in many years. The regiune trade union committee is therefore faced with the problem of mobilizing workers. It must organize competitions, intensify the education of peasants, sharpen vigilance, and unmask the hostile acts of class enemies. MTC technicians must be taught the proper operation of machinery. Union activity must show initiative and proper orientation. The Iasi Regiune trade union committee has not followed these principles, however. The regiune work plan for the second quarter of 1953 did not provide specific duties for the harvest. The plan was so full of detail that the over-all picture was forgotten. This lack of proper orientation caused the committee to fall behind schedule. The trade union committee did not discuss application of the 9 May decree on the harvest until several weeks later. Bortas (fnv), chairman of the Regiune Committee of Agricultural Workers, excused this delay on the grounds that he had been called away by the Central Committee of the union during the month of May. The regiune committee drew up a plan for explaining the decree to the masses, but no plan for implementing the decree itself. Poor union supervision resulted in the neglect of crops at state farms, particularly in Pascani and Ramboiana. Bortas excused this situation on the grounds that the committee had too many other duties.(46)

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In those areas of Constanta Regiune where the welfare of workers was taken care of, harvest quotas were fulfilled. On the other hand, in areas where the needs of the workers were neglected, harvest was behind schedule. Meals were poor and were served late at the Ciocarlia State Farm. Baths did not work and no cultural activities were carried on. The Velichioi State Farm provided no washing facilities. Negresti and Velichioi failed to set up first aid stations and did not provide goggles, although the latter were readily available in Constanta.(39)

5. Finance

Trade unions throughout the country administer and direct 1,700 clubs, almost 5,000 libraries, 212 motion picture houses, thousands of red corners, and numerous sports fields, gymnasiums, and tourist hostels. Funds for these activities are increasing every year. In addition, 33 million lei was set aside for the training of workers. These funds come chiefly from membership dues and from the sale of tickets to cultural and sports events.

Many union organizations have collected their dues on time. For example, health enterprises and institutes collected their full dues at the beginning of 1953. On the other hand, financial work in some enterprises was neglected. Many unions now collect dues in a bureaucratic manner, in direct violation of the principle of persuasion. Such is the case in the Ceahlau Metals Plant in Peatra-Neamt, where office workers simply withhold a part of the wages.

The manner in which these funds are spent is very important. Many union activists disregard the needs of the members and spend large sums on administration, culture, and sports. The enterprise committee of the 23 August plant in Bucharest spent more than 70 percent of its budget for administration. As a result, culture and sports suffered. The Adesgo plant in Bucharest and Tesatura in Iasi did not spend their funds properly. One reason for the frequency of such errors is the failure of union organizations to obey regulations and decisions agreed upon at general meetings. The Union of Workers in Light Industry and the Union of Workers in the Construction and Construction Materials Industries have been criticized for failing to improve the poor financial activities of subordinate units.(47)

IV. PROPAGANDA SYSTEM IN BUCHAREST

A. Party Teaching

The organization of propaganda and ideological work is of particular significance in Bucharest, where a large part of the Rumanian workers are concentrated. Hundreds of thousands of workers in factories and shops of the city are engaged in industrial production. Hundreds of thousands of copies of Bucharest daily newspapers are printed. Many thousands of books are sent to all parts of the country from printing houses in the capital. Scientific, academic, and cultural institutions, hospitals, and individual writers, engineers, physicians, and scientists are working to build socialism. The ideological level of the city is high.

However, evidence from all sides indicates the existence of serious deficiencies in the ideological and propaganda work of party organizations in the capital. A meeting of the city party committee, attended by representatives of primary party organizations, propagandists, scientists, and artists, took place 11-12 June 1953. This meeting discussed achievements and exposed propaganda work in the city. Achievements included an extensive primary educational network to cover most party members and a large number of others.

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The number of 3- and 6-month party schools increased. More than 2,000 activists took courses in these schools. Two new branches of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism of Bucharest were set up. The city committee organized classes to study Marxist-Leninist works and the documents of the 19th Congress of the CPSU. Good lectures and seminars were presented and the selection and training of propagandists was often good. The newspaper Viata Capitalei, organ of the Bucharest People's Council, published better articles, closely connected with the problems confronting workers of the city of Bucharest and of Bucharest Regiune. Results obtained in propaganda work contributed to strengthening the role of the Communist advance guard in building socialism and in increasing the ability of party organizations to mobilize workers. This is evidenced by the fulfillment of the state plan by Bucharest enterprises, the development of the Stakhanovite movement, and the increased participation of workers in tasks initiated by the party.

Speakers at the meeting emphasized, however, that serious errors were hampering propaganda work: the bureau of the city party committee was not checking the content of propaganda, and it tolerated propagandists who were poorly prepared theoretically and not always politically reliable. The unsatisfactory conduct of propaganda by the city committee was discovered by a systematic check. The bureau did not analyze the content of lectures and seminars at the Evening University or in 6-month and one-year party schools during the entire 1952-1953 school year. No conferences were held with ARLUS, the SRSC (Societatea pentru Rasandirea Stiintei si Culturii, Society for the Dissemination of Science and Culture), or other organizations. No raion committee in the city made a serious effort to analyze the content of lectures and seminars of the party schools, courses, and groups.

The lack of supervision and control resulted in a lower level of party propaganda. Circles, courses, schools, lectures, and seminars failed to emphasize the importance of the part of leader and director of the people, and did not emphasize the role of the people's democratic state as the principal instrument in the building of socialism. All these errors show that party organizations did not make their propagandists realize that propaganda is not an end in itself, but a weapon for mobilizing the masses to apply party direction and decisions. The unmasking of imperialism was carried on at a very low level in party circles, courses, and schools. Propagandists did not make available to students the value of material illustrating the disintegration of contemporary capitalism, nor did they give sufficient thought in unmasking the ideology of nationalism.

The poor orientation of some propagandists resulted in erroneous explanations of the New Economic Policy as a concession to capitalism, and misinterpretation of the democratic nature of the movement for peace. At the Evening Courses of the Buletinul Oficial (official bulletin containing decrees) students were led to believe that socialism can be attained without a class struggle. A circle at one enterprise was told that kulaks and former exploiters could be accepted into the party. A lecture on "Socialist Industrialization, Basis for the Development of the Entire National Economy" which Gherasim Pop presented at the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism, contained subjectivist interpretations. Lectures by M. Oprisan on the building of socialism contained too little theoretical argument.

It was disclosed at the meeting of the Bucharest city party committee that propagandists were poorly prepared and that some compromised persons had been accepted as propagandists in the 23 August party and other enterprises.

B. Party Press

The meeting also confirmed that the city party bureau had committed errors in administering and supervising the party press. Viata Capitalei did not carry agitation to tighten the bonds between the party and the masses or to

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mobilize the masses for plan fulfillments. Since the city committee had made only a very cursory analysis of the activities of its press organ, it was not aware of the daily errors, nor could it remedy them. The city committee did not assign the proper personnel to the newspaper, and it even tolerated opportunists who wrote articles in a petit bourgeois spirit. The editors of the paper did not devote enough attention to explaining and popularizing party and government decrees. They did not study the daily problems confronting individual party organizations or workers, and therefore did not stress items of current interest to the masses. The newspaper did not take a combative attitude toward errors in the activity of party and state organizations.

Viata Capitalei did not create a broad array of contributors, despite the presence of large numbers of activists, Stakhanovites, engineers, scientists, writers, and artists in the capital. As a result, lecturers did not quote articles from the paper. The Tudor Vladimirescu Raion Committee, the 23 August Committee, and other organizations did not examine the content of propaganda in their local and plant newspapers.

The experience of the CPSU and of the PMR has shown that a constant check by competent people who are at the same time party leaders can assure a successful press.

C. Science and Art Institutes

Supervision over the development of science, art, and literature constitutes an important means of spreading party ideology. An analysis of ideological activity in scientific and art institutes, carried out by the meeting in Bucharest, revealed that writers, artists, and scientists of the city had contributed to the building of socialism in the country. Rumanian scientists made many new discoveries, as reported at the recent annual meeting of the Academy of the RPR.

However, reports presented at the meeting also revealed serious errors in political work in these fields. The bureau of the city party committee, which is directly responsible for political-ideological work in pedagogical, scientific, art, and literary institutes, showed little interest in this phase of its activity. It devoted little time to studying the life and activity of professional men in this type of work. In June 1953, the city committee increased the number of party organizers at the National Theater, the State Opera, the Radio Committee, the Ministry of Public Education, the Ministry of Higher Education, and the Academy of the RPR. However, the level of lectures and seminars carried on by organizers and propagandists was very low. Scientists, writers, and artists were not taught Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner, and were given no opportunity to debate problems connected with the development of culture in the RPR.

The city committee and the raion party committees did not support primary party organizations in institutes. Consequently, the primary party organizations were not able to work constantly to influence the orientation of scientific, artistic, and literary work or to aid institutes in fulfilling their plans. Primary party organizations in scientific and educational institutions are in great need of support, because they are small and are composed of young men with little professional experience. Not a single member of the city bureau visited a research or higher educational institution to talk to a leader of the institution or to a member of the primary party organization concerning difficulties and problems facing him. That is why the report presented to the meeting by the city bureau did not point out the errors which cropped up in literature or in the creative arts.

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The city and raion committees in Bucharest made no effort to see that bureaus of primary party organizations in educational, scientific, and art institutes consisted of the proper elements. Some primary party bureaus did not contain a single specialist familiar with the work of the particular institute. This prevented primary organizations from exercising any influence on the work of the institute. The bureau of the primary party organization in the Institute of Normal and Pathological Physiology of the Academy of the RPR, for example, ceased to exist because it was unable to function, for the above reason.

The Bucharest City Committee and the raion committees relied upon poorly qualified instructors to supervise and instruct the bureaus of primary party organizations. Party decrees on educational and scientific institutes were not brought to the attention of the instructors. In addition, each instructor had in his class organizers of primary party organizations in institutes working in a different field from his own, and thus he was unable to check their effectiveness.

Many primary party organizations were likewise to blame for the poor ideological work, for they failed to orient teaching and creative work; nor did they mobilize researchers and artists to solve problems in the building of socialism or to tie science and art to life. As a result, the level of propaganda was low in some higher academic and other institutes. Lectures were full of foreign concepts which damaged the party education of young intellectuals. As a result of this improper orientation, researchers in a number of scientific institutes ignored the success of Soviet science and turned to "western" science and technology. For this reason, the work of a collective under researcher Baldoavin in the Cantacuzino Institute was of little value. Other scientific institutes did not devote themselves to current problems. Among these were medical institutes, particularly the Institute of Hygiene, which neglected disease prevention.

No contracts were signed between research institutes or university departments and enterprises. Conferences between researchers and workers were mere formalities. Writers and artists produced mediocre works because party organizations did not help them to know life in large factories and shops in the capital, or to know the daily activities of leading workers, Stakhanovites, and communists.

Communists have shown liberalism and a lack of combativeness toward poorly oriented artistic and literary work or research without perspective. Teaching, scientific research and artistic creation are limited by an atmosphere of mutual praise and concealment of mistakes in many collectives of artists, writers, teachers, and scientists. Some institutes have even adopted the habit of choking criticism. At the Institute of Physics of the Academy of the RPR, for example, lecturer Andrei Popovici, former assistant director and member of the bureau of the primary party organization of the institute, stifled criticism and refused to permit the free play of opinions.

Some communists used peculiar methods. They tried to run institutes themselves. Instead of using persuasion, they used unfriendly methods which did not contribute to the mobilization of institutes for plan fulfillment. The relationship between party members in science and art and those outside the party must be one of friendly aid in plan fulfillment.

The Bucharest city and raion committees failed to understand the value of the social sciences in directing ideological work and in teaching Marxist-Leninist science. The city committee failed to combat the opinion of some teachers that the teaching of social science is of little importance in party work. Party activists in social science departments did not consider their

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work important and stayed away from lectures. Members of social science departments were not briefed on current party problems by the city committee. Social science teachers were not used as propagandists.

D. Solution of Propaganda Problems

The direction of propaganda work in the city of Bucharest has thus been very poor, the meeting was told. Activists were poorly prepared, and failed to recognize errors; propaganda and agitation sections were very small, despite the inexhaustible reserve of intellectual workers in the city; and party directives were disregarded. Party organizations did not aid writers, scientists, and artists to devote their work to the building of socialism and to fight against antisocialistic cosmopolitanism.

To overcome these widespread errors, the meeting prepared a decree calling for improved supervision of the content of propaganda, the training of propagandists, the orientation of newspaper articles, and the enforcement of party decrees. In addition, a plan was drawn up to strengthen the editorial collective of Viata Capitalei, to elect better bureaus in institutes, and to set up a new primary party bureau in the J. V. Stalin Printing Combine.(1)

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